

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 007601  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 007601

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 969 ACTION SECSTATE, GENEVA, LONDON,  
BONN, ROME, USUN, KINSHASA, LUSAKA DTD 11 JAN 77.

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 00969  
LUSAKA FOR HOROWITZ

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PLAB, ILO, FR, UK, IT  
SUBJECT: HOROWITZ MEETING AT THE QUAI ON ILO

1. SUMMARY: AT THE QUAI'S INVITATION DANIEL L.  
HOROWITZ, US DEL TO ILO, ACCOMPANIED BY LABOR  
ATTACHE, MET WITH RENE DE SAINT-LEGIER DE LA SAUSAYE  
WHO IS IN CHARGE OF UN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
THE EVENING OF 6 JANUARY. SAINT-LEGIER WAS A SYMPATHET-  
IC AND APPRECIATIVE LISTENER TO EXPLANATIONS OF US  
POSITION. END SUMMARY.

2. SAINT-LEGIER BEGAN DISCUSSION BY ADMITTING THAT  
HIS RECENT FOCUS ON ILO MATTERS REVEALED TO HIM THE  
COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED AND HIS NEED FOR  
ADVICE BY SOMEONE WITH HOROWITZ'S EXPERIENCE AND  
KNOWLEDGE.

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3. HOROWITZ, WHO HAD JUST COME FROM AN INFORMAL  
MEETING WITH VENTEJOL (FRANCE), FORWARD (UK) AND  
AGO (ITALY) WHICH HAD FOCUSED ON ILO STRUCTURE PROB-  
LEMS, BEGAN BY EXPLAINING THE US POSITION WHICH  
OPPOSES THE VARIOUS FORMULAS THAT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED  
TO MODIFY THE COMPOSITION OF THE ILO GB TO MEET THE

DEMANDS OF THE GROUP OF 77. WHAT IMPRESSED SAINT-LEGIER WAS HOROWITZ'S EXPLANATION THAT THE REGIONALIZATION OF THE GB MEMBERSHIP WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO AN EROSION OF THE TRIPARTITE PRINCIPLE WHICH SAINT-LEGIER SAID FRANKLY HAD NOT APPRECIATED BEFORE. THE SECOND POINT ON WHICH SAINT-LEGIER FOUND HIMSELF IN AGREEMENT WITH WHAT HOROWITZ HAD TO SAY CONCERNED THE US REJECTION OF THE ARGUMENT THAT IF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES DID NOT COME FORWARD WITH A COUNTER PROPOSAL TO THE IDEA ADVANCED BY THE GROUP OF 77, THERE WILL BE A CRISIS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO A CALL BY THE 77 FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN WHICH THE WORSE CAN BE FEARED. THE US NOT ONLY REJECTS THE VIEW THAT SUCH A CRISIS IS INEVITABLE BUT BELIEVES THAT SHOULD SUCH CRISIS DEVELOP IT MUST BE FACED ON THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLES.

4. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE US ASSESSMENT OF THE ILO DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY MAY AFFECT THE US NOTICE OF WITHDRAWAL, HOROWITZ EXPLAINED THAT THE PICTURE IS MIXED. WHILE THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS ON SOME ISSUES THERE IS SOME LINGERING DOUBT WHETHER THIS PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BY A REVIVAL AND RECOMMITMENT TO THE ILO PRINCIPLES OR WHETHER THIS WAS THE RESULT OF A DESIRE TO PREVENT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE US FROM THE ILO. SAINT-LEGIER READILY AGREED THAT THE US WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN REVIEWING THE SITUATION IN THAT LIGHT AND IT IS PRECISELY FOR THIS PURPOSE THAT HE WANTED CONFIDENTIAL

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AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH HOROWITZ.

5. SAINT-LEGIER RAISED THE QUESTION ABOUT US CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EC NINE AND HOROWITZ REFERRED TO HIS SEPTEMBER MEETING WITH THE EC NINE REPRESENTATIVES IN GENEVA. THIS LED TO A DISCUSSION ABOUT WHETHER SUCH CONSULTATIONS CAN BE USEFULLY CONDUCTED AT THE GENEVA AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL OR WHETHER INSTEAD THEY SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT AT THE LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT DELEGATES TO THE ILO. IN RESPONSE TO HOROWITZ'S FRANK COMMENT THAT HIS SEPTEMBER CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EC NINE WERE NOT SATISFACTORY BECAUSE HE FOUND HIMSELF ENGAGED IN A MONOLOGUE BRIEFING THE EC NINE REPRESENTATIVES WITH SAINT-LEGIER JOINED IN THE REMARK THAT BASED ON THE REPORTING FROM GENEVA HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE EC REPRESENTATIVES HAD TAKEN A BROAD POLITICAL VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AND HAD NOT FOCUSED ON THE IMPORTANT TECHNICAL PROBLEMS WHICH CONCERN A SPECIALIZED ORGANIZATION

LIKE ILO.

6. THERE WERE COMMENTS EXCHANGED ON THE FACT THAT THE US NOTICE OF WITHDRAWAL CONTAINED NO REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF STRUCTURE AND YET RECENT DEVELOPMENTS MAKE THIS QUESTION LOOM LARGE AND POSSIBLY DECISIVE WITH REGARD TO THE US FINAL DECISION ON WITHDRAWAL.

7. HOROWITZ RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE ADVISABILITY OF POSTPONING THE 7 FEBRUARY MEETING OF THE WORKING PARTY ON STRUCTURE TO ALLOW FOR MORE TIME FOR CONSULTATIONS. SAING-LEGIER AGREED AND REACTED WITH SOME SURPRISE TO THE COMMENT BY AGO AT EARLIER MEETING THAT THIS POSTPONEMENT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO ARRANGE AGAIN BECAUSE OF THE VIEW TAKEN BY SOME THAT SUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION WOULD PRECIPITATE A CRISIS BY THE 77. IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT SAING-LEGIER SHARED US MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE CRISIS ARGUMENT.

8. SAINT-LEGIER INQUIRED ABOUT A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION FOR THE UK ATTITUDE INDICATING AGREEMENT WITH AGO'S FORMULA TO MEET THE DEMANDS OF THE 77. HOROWITZ THOUGHT PERSONALLY THAT THIS WAS THE PRODUCT OF FORWARD'S PERSONAL THINKING AND THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN YET ANY UK GOVERNMENT DECISION ON THIS MATTER. HE ADDED THAT THE GERMANS MOST LIKELY WILL AGREE WITH THE FRENCH POSITION AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE FRENCH TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM BILATERALLY WITH THE GERMANS. SAINT-LEGIER SAID SUCH CONSULTATIONS WITH FRG ARE EASY TO ARRANGE AND IMPLIED HE WOULD DO SO.

9. SAINT-LEGIER SEEMED GENUINELY PLEASED WITH THE IDEA OF HOROWITZ'S TRIP THROUGH AFRICA AND HE SAID THAT HE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION WE CAN PASS ON TO HIM ABOUT AFRICAN LEADERS' REACTIONS TO HOROWITZ'S PRESENTATIONS. HE SHARED THE VIEW THAT THERE IS NO REASON TO ASSUME THAT THE 77 ARE UNITED. ON THE CONTRARY, THERE ARE MANY AMONG THEM WHO WILL RESPOND FAVORABLY IF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES ARE ABLE TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE AND AFFIRM WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION THE PRINCIPLES BEHIND THE ILO.

10. SAINT-LEGIER NOT ONLY WAS FORTHCOMING IN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR HOROWITZ'S VISIT AND HIS EXPLANATIONS OF US POSITION BUT REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED

AGREEMENT WITH US APPROACH AND POSITION.

GAMMON

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